

[Post Chaco Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. [771]

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos."

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization

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nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá.

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2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs.

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3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials.

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4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

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Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

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is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment. [876]

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books. [878]
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The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil. [879]
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RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yurikoyu-vakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hikáimé*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted [776]
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bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. He kept on singing for a long time until *Vandós's* voice became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped singing.

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Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropi*:

Voropi is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropi* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropi* angry.

Hihaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihaiuné* who would send the winds *seipoti* and *seiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropi*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropi*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

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SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

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Shamanism is still an important part of Terena belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An interesting feature of present shamanism and one which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéo'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity. [177]

Although the Terena have no clear record of missionary activity among the tribe from the date of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, personal histories show that many old Terena were baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900. [177]

In 1910 a number of English Protestant missionaries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write [177]

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances.

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs.

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church.

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The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo."

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism.

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays.

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember,

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[Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

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79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terena kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally, to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form. Finally, we can say that the ancient Guanã appear to have been matrilineal, despite the fact that the Terena incline toward bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guanã-Terena social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

● 771 For giving us an outline of Guanã religion, the chroniclers [175]/51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guanã [578] "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

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[Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

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[296] much greater--still according to the same source--was the re-
spect they showed for the "small constellation which they
called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points
of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

*But*82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities,
or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that
[17] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this
regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial
bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are con-
sidered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a
[287] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux,
1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the
Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites
and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem.:295.

J. Bach(85) provides a very good description of how these

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[221] 85. "The only religious
festival they celebrate is the
one that corresponds to our
Holy Week and to the passage
of the seven stars; this
festival lasts for seven days.
In all the aldeas, in front

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[Traditional Culture]

791 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
 182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
 619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
 571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the
 Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in
 the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas
 that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to
 those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
 171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in
 its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
 171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
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90. "The ceremonial life
 of the "Tereno" and probably
 of all "Guaná" also was par-
 ticularly intense when the
 new year began. It is difficult
 to ascertain wheter these Indians
 adopted the "Mbya" rites and
 added a few traditional elements
 of their own, or whether ceri-
 monies already present in their
 own earlier culture corresponded
 to the Pleiades feast of the
 "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357).
 /Cited in English. /

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
 773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
 172 day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
 114 origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the
Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in
 the Chaco tribes. (91)

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797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group
to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation.
Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group
of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must
be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account
necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted,
since at the first opportunity they changed categories once
more, passing with relative ease from one group to another,
in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express
prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave
rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully
integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the de-
sire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious
fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious
group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months
in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggra-
vated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took
the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party
character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals
into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content
of both. (165)

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271 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
in his work on Bananal, refers

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to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

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For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

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166. Robert Redfield,
1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guanã groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

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167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Borôro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont. /

Excluding

771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
 [255] fighting sicknesses-- the poverty of the ceremonial and of
 [297] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
 [171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these, the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.

[298]/108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Believers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

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168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

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thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

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- 771 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the
- 128 Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

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000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
 797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
 177 deeply into Terena culture, the behavior of these Indians has
 182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important
 the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules
 of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not
 dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics"
 themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find
 two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
 795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
 771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
 796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the
 community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian,
 St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population partici-
 pates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same
 may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged
 into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the
 same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
 621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
 797 operated in the conversion of the Terena, we can classify their
 795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão,
 as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very success-
 ful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
 [665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in
 the others--with the exception
 of União, Aldeinha, and
 Francisco Horta--the Terena
 are visited by the North
 American Catholic padres
 of the Redemptorist Order
 who have their headquarters
 in the principal cities of the
 region.

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Campo Grande. - All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the
178 Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified
755 in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic
756 and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example
● 771 of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves
796 Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldeia" and that the
[612] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel
571 in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the
[172] latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

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167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terena, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
167 whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the
Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their
settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already
mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group conscious-
ness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with
compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded
as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary
factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend
to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the re-
ligious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more
strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number
of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
162 of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion
(5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out
of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves
as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And
this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Be-
lievers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terena to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with
such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in
the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of
the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied
by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

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785 *To declare oneself a "Catholic" is*
 791 already a habit for the Terena. And among all the Terena I have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

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But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?

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In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.

[465]

Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

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Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terena who live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terena

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terena is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/135 cont./

*¹²⁷
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[171] or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obviously, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding [82] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

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● ²⁷¹ As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be understood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its

[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a

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[191] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian, at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident

[295]
[829] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/135 cont./

* 177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
 297 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
 271 developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
 295
 [227] Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-
 Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
 [186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant
 ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more
 effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--
 ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority,
 but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group conscious-
 ness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated
 in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of
 individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already
 examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely
 be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding
 individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of
 the group toward change (far greater than the present conserva-
 tive mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the soi-
disant Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
 * 177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
 297 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

/404/

[13] The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[36] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[16] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
771 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
797 have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[22] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[59] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/90 cont. /

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.

162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
121 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians
live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to
10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters
long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it
live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10
meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters
long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin,
ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick,
scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong,
very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[23] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or
of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[45] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in ad-
dition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water,
and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the
ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen
utensils.

- 771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[22] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage
of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.